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# The role of 18<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers in the disappearance of Upper German variants in Austria<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

This paper investigates what role 18<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers played in the disappearance of *e*-apocope in Austria. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of this Upper German feature in two contexts (the *e*-apocope in plural nouns and singular dative forms) trace diachronic variation in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* in order to evaluate the role that newspapers played in the selection and dissemination of language norms. The results show that this newspaper disseminated the final *-e* in plural forms before it was prescribed by contemporary 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians active in Austria, indicating that newspapers – among other texts written by the educated classes – contributed to the selection as well as dissemination of particular variants. The use of dative *-e* was, however, less consistent, with a qualitative analysis revealing preferences by individual correspondents. This challenges current scholarly assumptions on the homogeneity of language practice within the text type *newspaper*. Instead, this article argues that historical newspapers have to be seen as a compilation of texts, rather than homogeneous texts.

**Keywords:** language standardisation, variation, German, newspapers, *e*-apocope

## 1 Introduction

The standardisation of languages is a popular field of study in sociolinguistics. Researchers are not only interested in how languages are standardised, but they also investigate who is involved in the standardisation process and how standardisation affects languages and their speakers. Haugen (1966) presented a model of four stages (selection, codification, implementation, elaboration) that has generally been accepted as a suitable theoretical framework for language standardisation.<sup>2</sup> According to Haugen (1966: 931–932), a language norm is first selected and then codified in dictionaries and grammars with the aim of minimal linguistic variation. This codified norm is then implemented across as many functions as possible and, in a last stage, has to be accepted by the speech community in order to be considered standardised in Haugen's definition (Haugen 1966: 931–932). Haugen's relatively general framework has been applied to many languages, albeit with some adjustments. It neatly explains how languages are usually

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<sup>1</sup> I thank the two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deumert and Vandenbussche's (2003) volume on the application of Haugen's model to the standardisation histories of all Germanic languages.

standardised, but it does not go into much detail about who is involved in this standardisation process. Who decides what standard usage is and how do you get a speech community to accept it?

Ammon (2003: 2) suggests that there are “four social forces that determine what is standard in a language”: linguistic codices (e.g. grammars), language norm authorities (e.g. teachers), language experts (e.g. linguists) and professional speakers/writers (e.g. journalists). These social forces are interlinked and influence each other. For example, language norm authorities, who may consider themselves as “guardians” of a language, correct language use that does not form part of linguistic codices. These codices may be based on “model texts” (Ammon 2003: 2) written by professional writers as well as on suggestions by language experts. On the other hand, language norm authorities can also make up their own language norms – teachers, for example, may promote forms that they consider to be standard and dismiss others that they think are ‘bad’ or ‘wrong’ even though they are not proscribed in linguistic codices.<sup>3</sup> This means that language standardisation is not a linear process but determined by a complex interaction of several factors.

For German, the most frequently cited factors and models for the standard language are Martin Luther’s Bible translation and a select group of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century prescriptive grammarians (cf. von Polenz 1994, Wiesinger 1995, Mattheier 2003, Rössler 2005). While Luther cannot be considered ‘the father of the Modern German language’, as he was described in older scholarly literature and still is in the modern media, since he did not create a new language, his Bible translation contributed significantly to the dissemination of East Central German (ECG)<sup>4</sup>, particularly in the Protestant areas (Salmons 2012: 269–270). In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Luther’s style remained a model for good practice, his orthography, was, however, considered outdated by the most influential language society of the time, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (Bergmann 1983: 275). By adjusting reprints of Luther’s Bible translation to newer orthographic rules, the Luther Bible kept its position as a work of language authority (Bergmann 1983: 276). The use of ECG variants was further promoted by grammarians in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612–1676)<sup>5</sup>, Johann Christoph Gottsched

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Davies and Langer (2014) for a discussion of the role of teachers as language norm transmitters.

<sup>4</sup> ECG varieties were and are used in Upper Saxony, Thuringia, and Silesia (König 1978: 138).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. McLelland (2011) for a comprehensive analysis of Schottelius’ main work on German grammar, the *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen HaubtSprache* (1663).

(1700–1766)<sup>6</sup>, and Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806)<sup>7, 8</sup> Other varieties, such as Upper German (UG)<sup>9</sup>, were, on the other hand, dismissed as ‘bad’ or ‘wrong’ German, particularly by 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians.<sup>10</sup> While it seems obvious that these prescriptions by grammarians had a significant impact on the standardisation of German, it has remained unclear how their language norms were actually implemented, i.e. how they percolated down to the language use of the general public. For Austria, recent research has revealed that Gottsched’s language norms were spread through schoolbooks in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Havinga 2015, 2018). The educationist Johann Ignaz Felbiger, who was employed by Empress Maria Theresa to carry out extensive school reforms in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was particularly influential in the dissemination of ECG norms as he wrote and edited textbooks himself, based on Gottsched’s language norms. The introduction of compulsory elementary schooling with standardised curricula and textbooks in December 1774 (cf. *Allgemeine Schulordnung* 1774) ensured that Austrian children would receive the same basic educational input.<sup>11</sup> Children across Austria would, therefore, learn the same language norms in school via textbooks.<sup>12</sup>

A comparison between reading primers, i.e. books that were designed to teach pupils how to read, and newspaper issues of the *Wienerisches Diarium* (*Wiener Zeitung* from 1780) revealed, however, that ECG norms had been adopted in newspaper articles long before 1774 (Havinga 2018). This raises the question of how and why ECG norms were implemented earlier in the media than in schoolbooks. Did newspaper correspondents contribute to the selection of forms that were then codified by grammarians and disseminated through textbooks or did they merely adopt and disseminate norms that had been codified? These questions will be addressed after an overview of previous research on the role of newspapers in the standardisation of German.

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<sup>6</sup> Gottsched was a literary scholar and grammarian hailing from East Prussia (Juditten) and later working in Saxony (Leipzig). According to Rössler (1997) and Wiesinger (2008), he became *the* German language authority, not just in Saxony and Prussia but also in Austria, after publishing his *Grundlegung einer deutschen Sprachkunst* (1748, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 1762).

<sup>7</sup> Adelung was born in Pomerania (Prussia) in 1732 but also worked in Leipzig (Saxony) from 1765 to 1787, during which time he published his famous dictionary *Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der Hochdeutschen Mundart* [...] (5 volumes, 1774–1786) as well as grammars on German.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Konopka (1996), Takada (1998), Langer (2001), and Auer (2009) for critical analyses on the influence of grammarians on various aspects of language use. Auer (2009), for example, concludes with regard to the use of the subjunctive in Austrian German that the grammarians’ prescriptions did have a certain influence on language use. While they did not lead to an increase in the use of the subjunctive, they “increased a certain insecurity in subjunctive usage, which favoured the (from a German viewpoint) overuse of the *würde*-periphrasis in subjunctive II contexts” (Auer 2009: 155–156).

<sup>9</sup> UG refers to the varieties used in the south of the German-speaking area, including Austria.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Section 4 for more information and Rössler (1997) as well as Havinga (2018) for a detailed discussion of language attitudes and ideologies of 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians.

<sup>11</sup> It has to be pointed out that children of the aristocracy and of wealthy citizens did not usually attend public schools but received private tuition (Jaklin 2003: 73).

<sup>12</sup> It remains to be investigated if teachers adhered to these language norms in their instructions.

## 2 Previous research on the role of newspapers in the standardisation of German

While linguistic codices today often base their language norms on language use in newspaper corpora (see Ammon's model described above), 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians used other texts to extract language norms. Gottsched (1752: 18), for example, clearly states that his *Grundlegung einer deutschen Sprachkunst* (1748, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 1762) is based on literary works of what he considered to be the 'best writers', even in the title of his grammar.<sup>13</sup> In fact, it was a common complaint that 'journalists' would corrupt the German language due to their lack of accuracy (Haß-Zumkehr 1998: 24).<sup>14</sup> Consequently, it was only later that linguistic forms used in newspapers found their way into dictionaries and prescriptive works (Haß-Zumkehr 1998: 24). Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who worked on their German dictionary from 1838 onwards, consciously avoided newspapers to provide evidence for certain lexical forms or lexemes (Haß-Zumkehr 1998: 24). Despite newspapers not serving as the basis for early German grammars, scholars have assigned an important role on the standardisation of German to newspapers.

Fritz et al. (1996: 10–11) state that it is plausible to assume that newspaper texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> century could have served as 'models' ('Muster') for the writing practice of a [relatively] large group of people.<sup>15</sup> Mackensen (1958: 148) even claims that 17<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers approached the assimilation of German varieties in a way that was almost unaffected by the language societies of the time.<sup>16</sup> In his view, newspapers were – at the beginning of this language development – even more effective than the publications by grammarians as they got their readers accustomed to various possibilities of expressing sounds and meaning in German (Mackensen 1958: 148). While Fritz et al. (1996: 10–11) agree with

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<sup>13</sup> In the preface to his grammar, Gottsched (1749) refers to writers such as Flemming, Caspar Ziegler, Anshelm von Ziegler, Teller, Stemmler, Seidel, Gellert amongst others as the models of his grammar. Rössler (1997: 29) points out that all the 'models' that Gottsched mentions hail from the East Central German and North German language area, none from the Upper German area.

<sup>14</sup> Similar complaints can be found in letters to the editor today, warning of the 'corrupting' effect of 'the media' on various languages. This myth has been refuted by linguists (see, for example, Aitchison (1998) for English).

<sup>15</sup> While it cannot be ascertained how many people read newspapers in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, I believe that Fritz et al.'s statement here refers to the educated classes rather than the general population, i.e. a large number of people who were able to read did indeed read newspapers. Hosokawa (2014) suggests that newspapers did not become a reading material for 'ordinary people' before the 1830s. This issue is discussed in more detail below.

<sup>16</sup> Von Polenz (1994: 112–113) states that there were numerous German language societies, of which the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* [Fruitbearing Society], founded in 1617, was the most important considering age, number of members, prestige, and impact. These language societies advocated the cultivation and purification of the German language (Mattheier 2003: 224), specifically by avoiding and replacing loan words as well as archaic and "provincial" words (von Polenz 1994: 120). The language discourse in these societies influenced 17<sup>th</sup>-century codifiers, such as Martin Opitz, Justus Georg Schottelius, and Kasper Stieler, in their effort to describe 'correct' German language use (Mattheier 2003: 224). For a discussion on the influence of language societies on Schottelius see McLelland (2011).

Mackensen's statement to some extent, they point out that it is extremely difficult to prove that newspapers did in fact contribute to the dissemination of certain linguistic forms and researchers may only be able to document individual cases for the adoption of such forms, rather than a more general influence from newspapers.

Previous research by Durrell et al. (2008) does, however, indicate that newspapers did indeed play a role in the standardisation of German. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was still common practice to print the news as it was reported from the agents and correspondents from around Europe (Durrell et al. 2008: 265). Indeed, the flow of information from correspondents to the printed newspapers was organised supra-regionally, as von Polenz (1994: 18) points out:

Der Nachrichtenfluß wurde überregional organisiert: Da das Sammeln dieser Fern-Nachrichten zunehmend von professionellen Agenten (*Zeitungsschreyber*) besorgt wurde, die für mehrere Zeitungen arbeiteten und deshalb dem Verleger ein Alibi gegenüber der lokalen Zensur boten, waren Inhalt und Form der Zeitungen weiträumig relativ einheitlich. (von Polenz 1994: 18)

[The flow of information was organised supra-regionally: Since the collection of global news increasingly became a task of professional agents (newspaper writers) who worked for several newspapers, and thus provided the publisher with an alibi for the local censorship, the content and form of newspapers was relatively uniform across a large area.]<sup>17</sup>

This meant that not only the content and form of newspapers became increasingly standardised but also the language. The varieties used in newspapers were primarily those of the correspondents who wrote for a supra-regional readership, rather than a certain town or region, and in a supra-regional variety, rather than their own local variety, since they sent their reports to various newspapers. Consequently, newspaper articles contained very few regional features and they were not dependent on the written language of the places where the newspapers were printed (Durrell et al. 2008: 265). Instead, they transmitted a model of supra-regional language (Durrell et al. 2008: 265). Due to the uniformity of newspapers, von Polenz (1994: 18) describes them (and Luther's Bible – see above) as the most effective means of disseminating certain linguistic variants:

Zeitungen wurden so – nach der Luther-Bibel – auch zum wirksamsten Mittel der Popularisierung und Verbreitung einheitlicher Sprachvarianten auf dem Wege zur nationalen Schriftsprache. (von Polenz 1994: 18)

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<sup>17</sup> All translations from German into English are my own, ADH.

[Thus newspapers – after the Luther Bible – also became the most effective means of popularising and disseminating uniform linguistic variants during the creation of a national written language.]

Since none of the originally handwritten letters from the correspondents have been preserved and since the correspondents' names were not indicated below newspaper articles, the identity, origin and level of education of the correspondents cannot be determined for certain (Durrell et al. 2008: 265). The lack of original reports also means that it cannot be ascertained whether the printers revised the language in these letters before printing them in the newspapers. Researchers are only able, therefore, to study the final product as depicted in newspapers without knowing how much – if any – editing took place.<sup>18</sup> The results of Durrell's et al. (2008) analysis of a number of phonological/orthographical, morphological, and lexical features in the newspaper part of the *GerManC* corpus (approximately 100,000 words, spanning from 1650 to 1800) indicate that the norms prescribed by contemporary grammarians were not necessarily the decisive factor for the selection of a particular variant that became the standard later on. Also the developing norms used (but not prescribed!) by newspaper correspondents played a role in this selection (Durrell et al. 2008: 275). Durrell et al. (2008: 275) conclude that late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century newspapers correspondents contributed to the standardisation of the German language by selecting variants and disseminating the most supra-regional forms.

More recent research by Durrell (2017) suggests, however, that newspapers did not lead the trend towards certain variants. The language in newspapers did not differ from texts written by professional and educated writers and the same frequency of regional features was observed in a variety of text types, such as drama, letters, and narrative prose. In other words, newspapers were not the only text type that was supra-regional in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Based on these results, Durrell (2017: 95) questions von Polenz's (1994: 18) statement on newspapers becoming "the most effective means of popularising and disseminating uniform linguistic variants" (my translation, see above for original quotation). Instead, Durrell (2017: 96) concludes that newspapers merely joined the process of selecting variants that occurred in various other text genres written by the educated classes. These selected variants were then codified by grammarians, who, as mentioned above, based their norms on literary works rather than newspapers. In other words, it was the educated classes in general – not merely newspapers – that contributed to the standardisation of the German language, according to Durrell (2017).

Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that the readership of newspapers was very limited in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. During that time, newspapers were not a reading

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<sup>18</sup> Fritz et al. (1996: 22) indicate that the texts from the correspondents were generally published without any radical editing.

material for the masses as they are today. Hosokawa (2014: 39), who examined the level of orality in newspapers from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, states that the vast majority of newspaper readers belonged to the nobility and the bourgeoisie before the 1830s.<sup>19</sup> When relatively cheap tabloids began to appear around that time, newspapers also started to spread among the peasant population in the countryside (Hosokawa 2014: 24, 40). Lindemann (1969: 124–125), on the other hand, argues that also lower social classes read newspapers in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century since it was easier and cheaper to obtain information about current affairs from them than from books. This argument is supported by a statement in *Eudämonia*, a conservative journal published between 1795 and 1798: “Also the people from the lowest social classes read. Farmers and common burghers read nowadays, and often more than they should.” (*Eudämonia* 1796, H.6: 489 as cited in Lindemann 1969: 125, my translation ADH).<sup>20</sup> While farmers and common burghers may not be seen as “the lowest social classes”, this claim refutes Hosokawa’s assessment and even if, as Hosokawa (2014: 39) argues, newspapers were not read by lower social classes before the 1830s, the readers from the higher – and more powerful – classes may have adopted linguistic forms they encountered in newspapers. According to Durrell (2017), these classes were, however, already using the supra-regional forms found in newspapers.

To summarize, previous research ascribes varying degrees of influence on the standardisation of German to newspapers. While they aided the selection and dissemination of certain variants, these variants can simultaneously be found in other text genres written by the educated classes. Furthermore, it is questionable how many ‘ordinary people’ read newspapers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The different statements by linguists illustrate how difficult it is to come to a clear and definite conclusion on the general influence of newspapers on the standardisation of German. As Fritz et al. (1996: 10–11) have pointed out, linguists are merely able to investigate the adoption of specific forms. The analyses presented here do not aim to assess the role of newspapers in the standardisation of German in general but focuses on what role the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* played in the disappearance of Upper German features in relation to 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians who have been described as particularly influential in this process. More specifically, this article addresses whether 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians

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<sup>19</sup> Raabe (2007: 50) provides an estimate of German newspaper readers for the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: 200,000 to 250,000 people. Based on the total population in German speaking areas in 1700, i.e. approximately 17 million according to McEvedy and Jones (1978: 69, 87, 89), this equates to only 1.2 to 1.5 % of the overall population. While the number of readers increased during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, newspapers were only read by a fraction of the population before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>20</sup> Original quotation in German: “Auch das Volk aus den niedrigsten Ständen liest. Bauern und gemeine Bürger lesen heutigen Tages, und oft mehr, als ihnen zuträglich ist.” (*Eudämonia* 1796, H.6: 489 as cited in Lindemann 1969: 125). For further information on the notion of newspaper reading being to some extent ‘harmful’ to lower social classes, see Lindemann (1969: 132–143).



changed the language use in this newspaper with regard to the *e*-apocope. If that was the case, newspapers correspondents did not select certain variants but merely adopted the norms prescribed in contemporary grammars.

The *Wienerisches Diarium* (*Wiener Zeitung* from 1780) – as the oldest operating daily newspaper in the world (Czeike 1992–1997: 648) – lends itself to such linguistic analyses due to its continuous publication since its very first issue on 8 August 1703.<sup>21</sup> Before the results of these analyses are presented in Section 4, the *Wienerisches Diarium* is described in more detail in the following section.

### 3 The *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung*<sup>22</sup>

The content of the *Wienerisches Diarium* is essentially summarised by the initial title of the first issue printed in 1703, which also accurately describes the structure of the newspaper. It states that it contains everything noteworthy that has happened in Vienna as well as news from the whole world and that it includes an appendix, listing death notices, nobility who have been born, got married, and those who have travelled to and away from Vienna. Furthermore, the *Wienerisches Diarium* provided advertisements for various objects and services as well as notices of auctions. As such, this newspaper comprised a number of different text types, which will be discussed below.

According to Zenker (1903: 4), the turnaround of news in the *Wienerisches Diarium* was relatively quick by contemporary standards: hardly any piece of news was older than eight days. From 1788, the *Wiener Zeitung* was published three times a week (previously it had been printed twice a week), without any major changes in the general layout of the newspaper (Zenker 1903: 18). Also, its relation to the government remained the same during the whole of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Until 1805, the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* was a private company with certain privileges from the emperor, not an official institution of the empire (*Hofzeitung*), and its content was subject to censorship (Zenker 1903: 18).

Initially, the newspaper was rather small, and employees were assigned a variety of tasks. Johann Baptist Schönwetter, the founder of the *Wienerisches Diarium*, for example, not only

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<sup>21</sup> Of course there were other newspapers printed before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, none of which are, however, still in operation. Johann Carolus's *Relation*, a newspaper in German first published in Strasbourg in 1605 is considered the oldest newspaper in the world and Carolus himself as the inventor of newspapers (Pettegree 2014: 182–183). According to Raabe (2007: 47), regular news prints, published twice a week, are documented from 1624 onwards, with the first ones being printed in Nürnberg and Augsburg. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were 60 to 70 newspapers printed in German with a run of 300 to 400 copies each (Raabe 2007: 50). This average number of copies increased to 600–700 in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when about 200 to 250 newspapers were printed in German (Stöber 2005: 72).

<sup>22</sup> More detailed information on the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* can be found in Havinga (2018).

wrote articles, but also edited and printed them (Zenker 1903: 5). To most newspaper correspondents of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, journalism was a sideline – anyone who had received an academic education and who could read and translate foreign newspapers (e.g. officers, lawyers, doctors, librarians, teachers etc.) could, in theory, write newspaper articles (Hosokawa 2014: 56). Newspaper articles can, therefore, be seen as one of the text types written by educated classes. As the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* grew, more people were involved in its production, and from 1805, sections (local versus international) were assigned to different editors (Zenker 1903: 21).

Of particular relevance is the fact that the sections on international news in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* were mostly copied from foreign newspapers (Zenker 1903: 4), which means that the authors of these news articles were not necessarily from the area where the newspapers were printed. Sometimes quotation marks indicated that articles were copied whilst at other times they were introduced by stating that the news was presented as received. In the issue of the *Wienerisches Diarium* published on 1 July 1769, for example, it is stated that the news given in Russian newspapers was so contradictory that the editors of the *Wienerisches Diarium* could not resolve the ambiguities and, therefore, reprinted them as presented in the *Petersburger Zeitungen*:

Von den Wirkungen der Rußisch=Kaiserlich und Ottomanischen Waffen, laufen so widersprechende Nachrichten ein, daß man der Ungewißheit worein man dadurch versetzt wird, nicht anderst abzuheffen weiß, als daß man diese Nachrichten, so wie sie angekommen, dem Publikum mittheilet. (*Wienerisches Diarium*, 1 July 1769, first paragraph)

[The news of the impact of the Imperial Russian and Ottoman weapons is so contradictory that one cannot resolve the ambiguity in any other way than reporting the news to the readers in [exactly] the way they were received.]

At the same time, it has to be noted that 18<sup>th</sup>-century correspondents writing about local events would have done so in a kind of supra-regional language, rather than their own local variety, in order to be able to send their articles to various newspapers (see above). There may, therefore, be little difference between the language use in international versus local news. The following analyses will not only reveal any differences within the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* but will more generally discuss changes in language use over a period of 100 years (from 1729 to 1829) by focusing on a particularly Upper German feature: the *e*-apocope in nouns.

#### **4 The disappearance of the *e*-apocope in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung***

The second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been identified as crucial in the dissemination of ECG norms in Austria (cf. Wiesinger 1995, Rössler 2005). Around 1750, a clear hierarchy of linguistic varieties had been established, with ECG at the top of this hierarchy and other varieties being dismissed as deviations. While the linguistic ideologies that led to this ‘verticalisation’ (Reichmann 1988) of linguistic varieties can be observed in many 18<sup>th</sup>-century prescriptive texts, Gottsched referred to them most explicitly:

Manche Landschaften nämlich weichen sehr von den andern, und fast alle einigermaßen von der besten Mundart, die man das wahre Hochdeutsche nennet, auch in den Wortfügungen ab: nicht, als ob sie ihre eigene Art zu reden für besser, oder nur für eben so gut hielten; sondern weil sie die bessere nur nicht wissen, oder aus Nachlässigkeit nicht zu beobachten pflegen. (Gottsched 1752: 22)

[Some regions deviate a lot from the others, and almost all of them deviate to some extent from the best dialect, known as the true High German, even when it comes to word formation: the reason for this deviation is not that they consider their own way of speaking better or just as good but that they just do not know the better way of speaking or that they do not observe the better way of speaking due to carelessness.]

Ganz Ober- und Niederdeutschland hat bereits den Ausspruch gethan: daß das mittelländische, oder obersächsische Deutsch, die beste hochdeutsche Mundart sey [...]. (Gottsched 1762: 69)

[All of Upper and Lower Germany has already expressed: that Middle, or Upper Saxon German, is the best High German variety [...].]

The ECG variety was thus seen as ‘proper’ German and the variety one should aspire to. This idea was not only propagated by grammarians but also by Empress Maria Theresa and a substantial part of the intelligentsia, who believed that the use of ‘proper’ German, i.e. ECG norms, would lead her monarchy to advances in scientific and intellectual fields (Wiesinger 1995: 329). The second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, seems to be a particularly suitable period for linguistic analysis.

The analyses presented here combine a quantitative with a qualitative approach. The quantitative analyses reveal a general trend away from the Upper German feature, while the circumstances of this trend are examined in more detail through qualitative analyses. The following sub-sections describe the feature and the corpus of texts that were investigated before presenting the results in Section 4.3.

#### **4.1 An analysis of *e*-apocope**

The feature analysed here is the *e*-apocope, i.e. the absence of final *-e*, in nouns. After the Indo-European mobile accent became fixed on the initial syllable in Germanic (Salmons 2012: 35),

a reduction of the now unstressed syllable in polysyllabic nouns occurred (Rössler 2005: 241). Solms and Wegera (1993: 165) state that this reduction was particularly common in the Upper German language area but less so in the Central German region. The first forms without final *-e* are attested in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Bavarian sources (König 1978: 159). Durrell (2016: 215) explains that the *e*-apocope spread from the south-east across most of the German-speaking area, apart from ECG. The presence of word-final *-e* was thus linked to the ECG language area as well as with Martin Luther (hence the term ‘Lutheran *-e*’)<sup>23</sup>, while the *e*-apocope was associated with the UG area. Later, the ending *-e* was restored in many cases, partly due to its morphological function (e.g. as a plural marker in nouns) but also in contexts without any morphological function (e.g. at the end of feminine nouns) (Durrell 2016: 215).

According to Rössler (2005: 241), *e*-apocope occurred in the following types of nouns:

- nouns of feminine gender in their singular form, e.g. *Frag/e*
- weak masculine nouns, e.g. *Hirt/e*
- mixed-declension neuter nouns, e.g. *Aug/e*
- strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form, e.g. *am Tag/e*
- nouns of all genders in their plural form in the nominative, genitive and accusative case, e.g. *Fisch/e*.<sup>24</sup>

In his analyses of Austrian and Bavarian texts printed between 1528 and 1774, Rössler (2005: 242–243) found variation between *e*-apocope and presence of final *-e* in these nouns from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, there was little variation within the same text in Rössler’s corpus as individual authors, typesetters, and printers tended to use the *e*-apocope or ending *-e* consistently (Rössler 2005: 242). However, Rössler (2005: 244) observed clear diachronic variation in the period under investigation, particularly between the first and the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. While the *e*-apocope was still dominant around 1720 (68 %) in Rössler’s corpus, it was replaced by the ending *-e* in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Rössler 2005: 244). Between 1755 and 1774, the *e*-apocope only occurred in 37 % of cases (Rössler 2005: 244). This clear trend away from the *e*-apocope around the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century correlates with the increasing dissemination of ECG norms and the influence of Gottsched in Austria at that time (Rössler 2005: 245). Rössler’s results thus suggest that

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Luther’s greatest influence was in the Central and Northern German area, hence the association of a regional linguistic feature from there with Protestantism. Cf. also Macha (2014) on the interrelationship between linguistic features and religious affiliation. Cf. von Polenz (1994) and Habermann (1997) on a critical discussion of the term ‘Lutheran *-e*’.

<sup>24</sup> In other words, the *e*-apocope occurred in most types of nouns, which results in a high frequency of this variable in texts. In mixed-declension masculine nouns (e.g. *Nam/e*), too, the *e*-apocope appears.

<sup>25</sup> Rössler (2005) analysed religious texts (such as sermons and necrologies) as well as secular texts (reports, legal texts, biographies etc.).

professional writers/printers adopted the language norms prescribed by Gottsched and other 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians, such as Johann Siegmund Valentin Popowitsch<sup>26</sup> and Johann Christoph Adelung.

Durrell's (2016) results, too, suggest that newspapers followed, rather than led the trend away from the *e*-apocope in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He bases his findings on analyses from the *GerManC* corpus, which comprises eight text genres (drama, humanities, legal texts, letters, narrative prose, newspapers, scientific texts and sermons) from all five linguistic regions within the German-speaking countries (North, West Central, East Central, West Upper, East Upper), spanning from 1650 to 1800 (approximately 900,000 words).<sup>27</sup> Durrell's (2016) results generally indicate that the trend away from the *e*-apocope between 1650 and 1800 differed in text genres and regions, with instances of *e*-apocope mainly occurring in the Upper German area between 1650 and 1750. This area clearly adjusted its use of *e*-apocope to the North and East Central German area between 1701 and 1800, with the *e*-apocope increasingly disappearing.<sup>28</sup> Besides diatopic and diachronic variation, Durrell (2016) also observes differences between text genres. The *e*-apocope is more common in drama, legal texts, and sermons than in other text genres in the East Upper German area. The higher frequency of *e*-apocope in drama and sermons may be attributed to the spoken nature of these texts, according to Durrell (2016: 228, 230). This would imply that the variants without final *-e* were acceptable in spoken language and that they, unsurprisingly, did not raise any communication difficulties for the audience. Durrell (2016: 231) further explains that the high frequency of *e*-apocope in legal texts may be a result of the linguistically rather conservative nature of these texts, which may partly be due to their reliance on older model texts. By contrast, the most significant increase of dative *-e* in the East Upper German area between 1750 and 1800 can be observed in newspapers (from 14 % in 1701–1750 to 71 % in 1750–1800) (Durrell 2016: 227). Durrell's findings thus illustrate that there are text-specific as well as regional differences in the development of *e*-apocope, with variation occurring in the Upper German area for a longer period of time. It can, therefore, be assumed that variation with regard to *e*-apocope will still appear in the newspaper issues analysed here.

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<sup>26</sup> In contrast to Gottsched and Adelung, Popowitsch (1705–1774), who was born in Lower Styria (i.e. today's Slovenia), advocated the inclusion of regional varieties in the formation of a standard language. He believed that a supra-regional agreed language (*Ausgleichssprache*) rather than a variety based on ECG should be used as the standard language (Rössler 1997: 45). He published his grammar *Die nothwendigsten Anfangsgründe der Deutschen Sprachkunst, zum Gebrauche der Österreichischen Schulen herausgegeben* in 1754.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *GerManC* documentation, which can be downloaded from <http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/germanc/files/> (accessed 09.01.2017).

<sup>28</sup> A notable exception is the use of dative *-e*, which slightly decreases between the first two periods (1650–1700 and 1701–1750) of the *GerManC* corpus in the East Upper German texts (Durrell 2016: 225).

The analyses presented here focus on the *e*-apocope in plural nouns and in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form. The main difference between the final *-e* in plural nouns and the dative *-e* is that the former has a clear and compulsory morphological function. While the dative *-e* marks the case in strong masculine and neuter nouns, inflectional changes in Early New High German led to the case being mainly expressed through other parts in the noun phrase, which renders the dative *-e* basically redundant (Durrell 2016: 223). Solms and Wegera (1993: 169) talk about a tendency towards “Kasusnivellierung” [“case levelling”] with regard to this process and stress that the dative *-e* is never obligatory in today’s standard German, with the exception of a number of fixed collocations, such as “zu Rate ziehen” [“to seek advice”]. Rather than considering the dative *-e* as a structurally necessary suffix, it can be described as a prestige form that was advocated by 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians and remained prestigious throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is also supported by the fact that the dative *-e*, unlike the plural *-e*, was a variant that was largely limited to writing (Durrell 2016: 230).

#### 4.2 A corpus compiled of the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung*

For the analysis of language use in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung*, 22 newspaper issues in 5-year intervals were selected (see Table 1). This selection is based on the assumption that a difference in language use should be observable during this period of time if the prescriptions of 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians did indeed have an effect on printed language. Furthermore, the availability of digital images of the newspapers on the *AustriaN Newspapers Online* (ANNO) website determined the overall timeframe and intervals.<sup>29</sup> Each issue was published in the first week of July and the number of columns analysed was adjusted to the occurrence of the variable under investigation, with the minimum occurrence being set to 12 instances:<sup>30</sup>

Table 1: Number of columns analysed in each newspaper issue

Publishing date	Number of columns analysed in each issue
2 July 1729	1–14
3 July 1734	1–14

<sup>29</sup> See <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>. Due to the gap in the availability of the *Wienerisches Diarium* in 1724 and between 1735 and 1738, the 5-year intervals start in 1729.

<sup>30</sup> The layout of the newspaper changed over time. There was generally more text per column from 1809 onwards. In order to ensure comparability between the issues, only the first few pages of each newspaper issue, mainly dealing with local and international news, were analysed. In the case of the newspaper issue in 1819, for example, only the first four columns dealt with these kinds of news.

1 July 1739	1–16
1 July 1744	1–14
2 July 1749	1–12
3 July 1754	1–18
4 July 1759	1–15
4 July 1764	1–14
1 July 1769	1–14
2 July 1774	1–14
3 July 1779	1–12
3 July 1784	1–14
1 July 1789	1–12
2 July 1794	1–14
3 July 1799	1–14 <sup>31</sup>
4 July 1804	1–14
1 July 1809	1–8 <sup>32</sup>
1 July 1814	1–8
1 July 1819	1–4
1 July 1824	1–8
1 July 1829	1–4 & 7

As mentioned above, I only present the results of the *e*-apocope in plural nouns and in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form. On average, nouns that can take the suffix *-e* in their plural form were less common (minimum occurrence within one newspaper issue: 13, average occurrence: 33) than masc./neutr. sg. nouns in the dative case (minimum: 27 instances, average: 55 instances). Instances of *e*-apocope in nouns can, however, be found in every newspaper issue of the corpus, as the description of the results in Section 4.3 will show.

### 4.3 Results of the analyses

In this section, the results of the analyses are described. The comparison between *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form versus *e*-apocope in plural nouns shows that their developments vary significantly. Before discussing this phenomenon in Section 4.3.3, the results of this feature in these two contexts are presented individually.

#### 4.3.1 *e*-apocope in plural nouns

<sup>31</sup> The list of officers on the third page was not included in the analysis.

<sup>32</sup> The scans of columns 5 to 8 of the newspaper issue published on 1 July 1809 were misplaced on the *ANNO* website and can be found in the issue published on 3 July 1809.

The *e*-apocope in plural forms had almost completely disappeared from the *Wienerisches Diarium* by 1729. Indeed, there is not a single instance of it in the newspaper issue published in 1744 and only a few instances before then: two in 1729 and 1739, three in 1734. In the later issues, individual occurrences can be found in 1749, 1759, 1764 and 1794. Furthermore, there are two instances of *e*-apocope in plural nouns in 1799 and seven occurrences in 1754 (see Table 2).

**Table 2: *e*-apocope versus using the ending *-e* in newspaper issues: plural (absolute numbers)**

<b>Year of publication</b>	<b><i>e</i>-apocope</b>	<b>ending <i>-e</i></b>
1729	2	15
1734	3	21
1739	2	11
1744	0	24
1749	1	31
1754	7	22
1759	1	18
1764	1	17
1769	0	24
1774	0	30
1779	0	26
1784	0	41
1789	0	52
1794	1	52
1799	2	29
1804	0	45
1809	0	46
1814	0	42
1819	0	33
1824	0	57
1829	0	28

In other words, the plural *-e* was certainly the dominant variant throughout the period under investigation. The highest percentage of *e*-apocope in plural nouns can be observed in 1754 (24 %). Generally, the percentage of *e*-apocope is, however, considerably lower in all other newspaper issues and ranges from zero to 15 percent (see Figure 1).



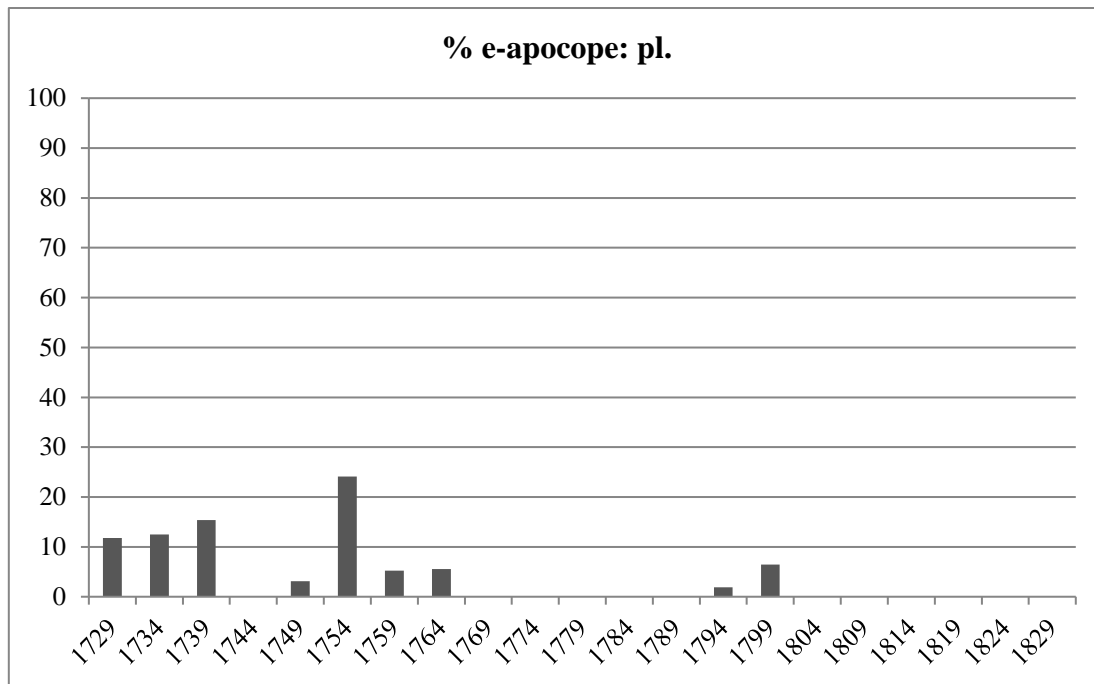


Figure 1: *e*-apocope in newspaper issues: plural (in percentages)

Furthermore, the use of *e*-apocope in plural nouns is largely restricted to two main categories: 1) words referring to periods of time<sup>33</sup> and 2) French loan words<sup>34</sup>. It seems that the *e*-apocope was still acceptable in these very limited contexts in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This does, however, not mean that the *e*-apocope was used consistently in these cases throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, all of the nouns mentioned above apart from *Sonntag/Sonntäg* can be found with plural *-e* in the newspaper corpus from 1729 to 1799. In 1754, variation can even be observed within the same newspaper as both *Tag* and *Tage* occur in plural.

Despite the occurrence of a number of variants without plural *-e*, it can generally be concluded that this particular ECG form was adopted in the *Wienerisches Diarium* before it was prescribed by 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians. In this case, these grammarians did not influence the language use in the newspaper articles and their writers played a role in the selection as well as dissemination of the plural *-e*. A similar conclusion cannot be drawn with regard to the dative *-e*, which is discussed in the next section.

<sup>33</sup> The plural forms [6] *Monat*, [alle] *Sonntäg*, [zwey/alle/14] *Tag*, [8] *Täg* occur in 1754 without final *-e* and the noun *Jahr* is used without plural marking in 1734 (two instances), 1739, and 1759. Furthermore, *alle Augenblik* is spelled without plural *-e* in 1729.

<sup>34</sup> The following plural nouns appear without final *-e*: [ihre] *Quartier* in 1749, [3] *Offizier* in 1794, [2] *Oberlieutenant* and [die] *Offizier* in 1799. Apart from these instances and the plural forms listed in the footnote above, the nouns *Leut* (1729), *Stück* (1734), *Ort* (1739) *Brief* (1754) and *Sprüche* (1764) occur without plural marking. It should here be noted that the plural form of *Stück* is not necessarily marked with final *-e* in modern standard German, depending on the context (see examples in section 1b provided in the online version of the *Duden* (<http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Stueck> [accessed 26.01.2017]) as well as the 24<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Duden* (2006: 980).

#### 4.3.2 *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form

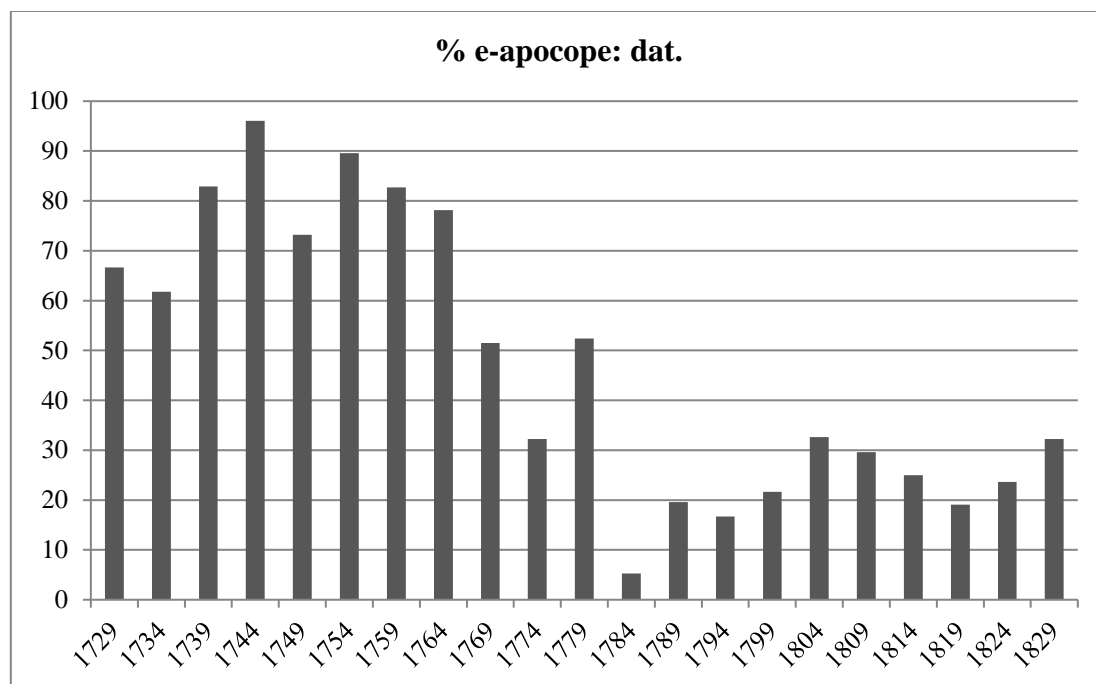
Table 3 lists the number of occurrences of *e*-apocope versus ending *-e* in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form. Between 1729 and 1764, the *e*-apocope constitutes the preferred variant in newspaper issues. However, the dative *-e* is also used during this period of time. Indeed, the high number of words with dative *-e* in 1729 (19 instances) and 1734 (26 instances) is striking and indicates that the dative *-e* was well established in the *Wienerisches Diarium* before the publication of grammars by Gottsched and others. While the use of *e*-apocope versus dative *-e* is fairly balanced in the newspaper issues printed in 1769 and 1779, the dative *-e* is dominant in the 1774 newspaper issue (42 instances versus 20 instances of *e*-apocope). The trend away from the *e*-apocope becomes even more apparent in the newspaper issue published in 1784, with only three instances of *e*-apocope versus 54 instances of the ending *-e*. This is the lowest frequency of *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative form in the whole corpus. Interestingly but not surprisingly, the *e*-apocope does not disappear completely in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century but is instead used in 17–33 percent of cases between 1789 and 1829, as Figure 1 illustrates. This further indicates that the dative *-e* is morphologically not necessary to mark the dative case as this is done elsewhere in the noun phrase. Instead, the dative *-e* can be described as a prestigious variant that, ultimately, was not accepted as the standard form.

**Table 3: *e*-apocope versus using the ending *-e* in newspaper issues: strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form (absolute numbers)**

<b>Year of publication</b>	<b><i>e</i>-apocope</b>	<b>ending <i>-e</i></b>
1729	38	19
1734	42	26
1739	34	7
1744	49	2
1749	41	15
1754	60	7
1759	43	9
1764	50	14
1769	33	32
1774	20	42
1779	22	21
1784	3	54
1789	9	37
1794	8	40
1799	8	29
1804	15	31
1809	8	19
1814	17	51

1819	8	34
1824	22	71
1829	19	40

Figure 2 shows the percentage of *e*-apocope in the individual newspaper issues and thus illustrates the trend towards dative *-e* in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The highest percentage of *e*-apocope can be found in the newspaper issue published in 1744 (96 %). While there is a considerable drop in the frequency of *e*-apocope between 1744 and 1749 (from 96 % to 73 %), the percentage of *e*-apocope generally remains high (73–90 %) between 1749 and 1764. Another significant decrease in the use of *e*-apocope can be observed after 1764, with the use of *e*-apocope dropping from 78 % in 1764 to 52 % in 1769. This development continues in the newspaper issue printed in 1774, in which the dative *-e* is dominant for the first time (with 68 %). While the use of *e*-apocope is somewhat restored in 1779 (52 %), it disappeared almost completely in 1784 (5 %). The dative *-e* was, however, never used consistently in any newspaper issue. The use of *e*-apocope even reached 33 % in 1804 and 32 % in 1829.



**Figure 2: *e*-apocope in newspaper issues: strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form (in percentages)**

Given that individual newspaper articles were written by different correspondents, the question arises whether certain correspondents used the dative *-e* consistently. In order to answer this question, a qualitative analysis is carried out on the newspaper issues published in 1769 and 1779 since these issues display the greatest variation between *e*-apocope and dative *-e*. The following tables list all instances of strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative case,

categorised into the articles they appear in. The occurrences are ordered alphabetically, and the number of instances is provided in square brackets if exceeding 1.

**Table 4: *e*-apocope versus dative *-e* in the newspaper issue printed in 1769**

<b>Newspaper article</b>	<b><i>e</i>-apocope</b>	<b>dative <i>-e</i></b>
Introduction	dem Publikum, in dem Anhang	
St. Petersburg, 29 May 1769	am Fuß, bey dem dritten Kanonenschuß, bey dem Fluß [4], dem Obristlieutenant, in seinem Bericht, mit Anbruch, mit dem größten Muth, mit dem Rest, mit einem Theil, nach dem Ausbruch, nebst dem Obristlieutenant, zum Glück	auf dem Fuße, dem Feinde, im Anzuge, im türkischen Gebiete, in diesem Thale, keinem Feinde, vom Feinde, vom Pferde [3], vom schwarzen Meere
From the Turkish border, 26 May 1769		in dem Augenblicke, in dem Gesichte, in eben dem Zeitpuncte, in heimlichem Verständnisse
From the Polish border, 4 June 1769	nach einem [...] Bericht	am folgenden Tage, außer dem Puncte, bey dem ersten Anfalle, ihrem Feinde, in ihrem Angriffe, mit [...] kaltem Blute, seit ihrem Auszuge, von ihrem [...] Verluste, zum Widerspruche
From the Warta, 5 June 1769	vom 5. Brachmonath	mit einem ansehnlichen Verluste, von gleichem Schicksale
Parma, 13 June 1769	an dem Tag, auf dem großen Platz, bey dem [...] Besuch, mit dem Heurathsvertrag, nach dem Alterthum, nach dem Geschmack, vom feinsten Marmor, von eben diesem Marmor	an was für einem Tage, im Fußgesimse [2], in dem oberen Theile
Livorno, 16 June 1769	auf einem englischen Schif, bey dem General Paoli, von dem General [...], von dem Volk	
Vienna, 1 July 1769	auf dem Burgplatz, dem Erzherzog Ferdinand, zu Pferd	vom Hofe, zu Pferde

Table 4 indicates that the use of dative *-e* did indeed depend on individual correspondents. Assuming that each of the articles in this table was written by a different correspondent, three of them were consistent in their choice of either *e*-apocope (introduction and Livorno) or dative *-e* (Turkish border). Furthermore, the variation between *e*-apocope and dative *-e* is not completely random. The writer of the St. Petersburg article, for example, never used the dative *-e* in constructions with the prepositions *bey* and *mit*. By contrast, the dative *-e* always occurs in nouns following the preposition *von* in this particular article. Furthermore, the preposition

*nach* is followed by strong masculine nouns without dative *-e* in three different articles. However, with such a low number of instances, whether or not the writers deliberately used *e*-apocope or dative *-e* with certain prepositions cannot be ascertained. The article on Vienna suggests that these choices were not always made deliberately or consistently, with *zu Pferd* and *zu Pferde* appearing in close proximity.

Similar observations can be made in the newspaper issue published on 3 July 1779 (e.g. constructions following the preposition *mit* are spelled without dative *-e*) but again, these are from individual correspondents preferring a particular variant (see Table 4, in which the occurrences are ordered alphabetically and the number of instances is provided in square brackets if exceeding 1).

**Table 5: *e*-apocope versus dative *-e* in the newspaper issue printed in 1779**

<b>Newspaper article</b>	<b><i>e</i>-apocope</b>	<b>dative <i>-e</i></b>
Versailles, 16 June 1779	an diesem Hof, dem König, in ihrem Grund	
Paris, 18 June 1779	aus einem Schif, bey dem Vorgebürg, bey ihrem Anfang, einem jeden Bootsmann, in dem günstigsten Augenblick, vom Regiment, von dem [...] Feldzug, zu einem [...] Gefängniß, zu Grund	dem Könige, im völligen Stande, in einem Schiffe, zu Pferde
Brest, 9 June 1779	zum Theil	
Rome, 9 June 1779	nach Maaß	in dem Vaticanischen Pallaste
Venice, 17 June 1779	auf dem St. Markus Platz	
Addition concerning the plan of a college	ihrem Institut	aus jedem Zöglinge, dem Staate, in welchem Stande, nach dem Plane
Haag, 19 June 1779	im Jahr	
London, 18 June 1779	mit dem letzten Entschluß, mit ihrem Gut und Blut, zum Schutz	am folgenden Tage [2], bey dem gesammten brittischen Reichsrathe, dem Hause, dem Oberhause [2], dem Parlamente, im grossen Ausschusse, in dem Oberhause, von seinem Hofe, zu Lande
Rotterdam, 19 June 1779	nebst dem Herzog [...]	

One pattern that is worth noting is that foreign loan words are less likely to be marked with dative *-e*. In the two tables presented above, the loan words *Publikum*, *Lieutenant*, *Marmor*, *General*, *Regiment*, and *Institut* occur without dative *-e*. While this is a tendency across the corpus, it is not a consistent pattern, as the dative marking in *Pallaste* and *Parlamente* in Table

5 show. Furthermore, the nouns *Lieutenant*, *General*, and *Regiment* occur with dative *-e* in other newspaper issues (1784, 1809, 1814, 1824, 1829).

Another tendency that is revealed in Table 5 is that there are more monosyllabic nouns with dative *-e* (11)<sup>35</sup> than polysyllabic nouns with dative *-e* (5). In Table 4, however, there is no clear correlation between the number of syllables and the use of dative *-e* (11 monosyllabic and 12 polysyllabic nouns are marked with dative *-e*). Similarly, Durrell (2016: 226) did not observe a correlation between the number of syllables in nouns and the use of dative *-e* in his research on the *GerManC* corpus.

More important than these tendency is the fact that individual newspaper correspondents differed in their language use with regard to the dative *-e*, which suggests that their texts did not undergo scrutinising editorial checks with the aim of consistent language use across all articles of a newspaper issue. Instead, it appears that variation between *e*-apocope and dative *-e* was not of any concern to the editors and variation with regard to this particular feature seems to have been acceptable in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Despite a clear trend away from the *e*-apocope at that time (particularly after 1764), both variants continue to occur in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* in the whole period under investigation. In contrast to plural *-e*, the writers of the newspaper articles did not play a role in the selection of dative *-e* but instead seemed to follow the variant prescribed by grammarians. The differences between these contexts are discussed in the following section.

#### 4.3.3 Comparison of features

As indicated above, the results of the *e*-apocope in plural and dative singular forms discussed in this article are very different. Figure 3 illustrates these differences: The red line shows the percentage of *e*-apocope in plural nouns; the blue line presents the development of *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative case. Whereas a relatively gradual decrease of the *e*-apocope can be observed in the dative forms, plural nouns were hardly ever marked without final *-e* in the period under investigation.

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<sup>35</sup> Here types rather than tokens were counted and compounds were treated as separate words. According to Zwitserlood (1994), Dutch compounds – both transparent and opaque ones – are decomposed into their constituents during word recognition. It was assumed that the same process occurs in German. Therefore, compounds such as “Reichsrathe” were treated as two separate words (*Reich(s) + rath*), with the second constituent being regarded as monosyllabic in this and similar instances.

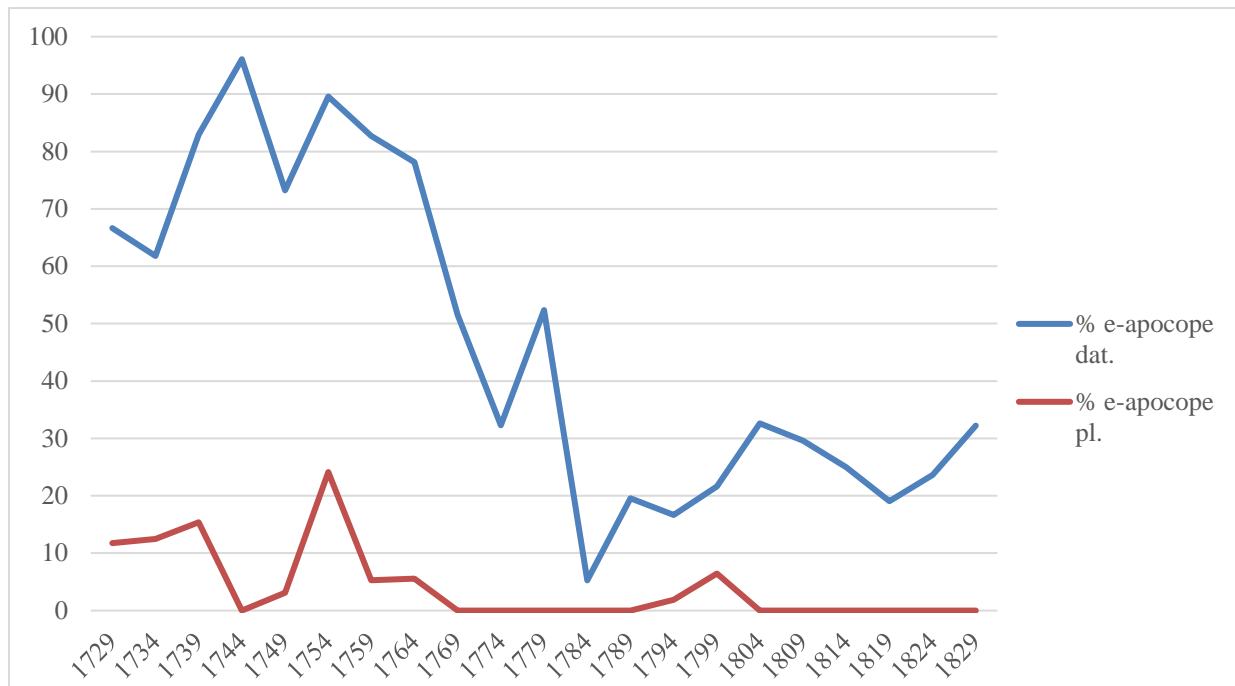


Figure 3: Comparison of features: *e*-apocope in dative versus plural forms

A comparison of these developments indicates to what extent 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians influenced the language use in newspaper articles. As mentioned above, Johann Christoph Gottsched and other grammarians publishing their work in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been identified as particularly influential in the introduction of East Central German norms in Austria (Wiesinger 1995, Rössler 2005). That 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians influenced the use of dative *-e* by propagating it in their grammars is certainly plausible. In the newspaper issues, the *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns decreased significantly after the publication of these grammars. The lowest number of *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular form can be found in the newspaper issue printed in 1784, i.e. after the publication of Adelung's (1781) *Deutsche Sprachlehre*. However, the dative *-e* was certainly used in the *Wienerisches Diarium* before the publication of these grammars, indicating that it was not 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians that introduced this feature into texts printed in Austria, but their prescriptions certainly favoured an expansion of its use.

With regard to final *-e* for plural marking, these grammarians did not affect the language use in the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung*. As shown above, the *e*-apocope in plural nouns had almost completely disappeared by 1729. This indicates that the writers of newspaper articles did not necessarily follow the prescriptions of 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians but that they actually selected the variant that was then codified in grammars.<sup>36</sup> While this does not demonstrate that grammarians based their language norms on newspaper articles as “model

<sup>36</sup> The same conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of *e*-apocope in feminine nouns (cf. Havinga 2018).

texts” it suggests that their writers have played a significant role in the selection and dissemination of language norms, at least with regard to certain features. At the same time, it has to be acknowledged that they were not the only text type that disseminated these norms, as Durrell’s (2017) research discussed above shows. As previously mentioned, journalism was a sideline for the educated classes, so it is not surprising that the language use in newspaper articles did not differ from the language use in other text types written by the educated classes. Differences between individual newspapers correspondents can, however, be observed with regard to the dative *-e*. This can be explained by the dative *-e* functioning as a prestige form, rather than merely serving a morphological function (in contrast to the plural *-e*). This raises the question whether the dative *-e* was used less frequently in text types that can be considered less prestigious. This question is addressed in the following section, which summarises findings of an analysis of advertisements within the *Wiener Zeitung*.

#### **4.4 An analysis of advertisements in the *Wiener Zeitung***

The findings above are mainly based on the local and global news sections of the *Wienerisches Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*. With regard to the frequency of *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative case, these sections differed considerably from other parts of the newspaper, such as advertisements. This will be exemplified here by investigating the newspaper issue printed on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1809. The results above show that eight instances of *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative case appear in the analysed columns of this newspaper issue (columns 1 to 8), which equates to 30 %. These findings are now compared to about five columns of advertisements printed in the same newspaper issue (see pages numbered 2367–2369). The length of these 23 advertisements varies, with the shortest comprising 38 tokens and the longest 309 tokens.

The advertisement section in the *Wiener Zeitung* allowed people to promote their products, announce available accommodation for rent, indicate that they were looking for a flat or indeed note various other things.<sup>37</sup> Franz von Pantz, a first lieutenant in the Habsburg army, for example, notified his family and acquaintances that he was still alive via the *Wiener Zeitung*, after he had been reported dead. The range of products and services advertised was extensive, ranging from advertising a lift from Vienna to Nuremberg in a horse-drawn carriage to promoting a product for the removal of bugs in your home. These advertisements are not only

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<sup>37</sup> Lindemann (1969: 248–249) states that such advertisements can be found from the end of the 17th century in newspapers. While they were, at first, limited to book advertisements (usually published by the publishers of the newspaper) they soon included advertisements for cosmetics, the lottery and even for dogs that went astray. By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these advertisements were already taking notions of demand and supply into account (Lindemann 1969: 249).



a rich source for historians to discover central aspects of urban life in the past but are also linguistically very revealing.

First of all, it is striking that two of the 25 advertisements are written in French. This suggests that the *Wiener Zeitung* was read by educated people, with at least some of them understanding French. It also means that French was an acceptable language to be printed in Austrian newspapers, which is not surprising given the prestige status of French in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, the *e*-apocope in strong masculine and neuter nouns in the dative singular case is, on average, used considerably more often in these advertisements than in the sections on local and global news in the same newspaper issue. In the advertisements, 41 instances of *e*-apocope and only nine occurrences of dative *-e* can be found. In other words, the *e*-apocope is used in 82 % of the cases in these advertisements – a considerable difference to previous sections of the same newspaper issue, which contained 30 % of *e*-apocope. This indicates that, on average, the less-professional writers of advertisements used this UG feature more often than the more-professional newspaper correspondents. Similarly, Auer (2009) came across four examples of what grammarians considered ‘ungrammatical’ use of the subjunctive in her research on the subjunctive in Austrian German. All of them occur in advertisements on house liability in her corpus of the *Wiener Zeitung*, which included issues from 1781. Since these were the only ungrammatical instances of subjunctive use that Auer discovered in the whole newspaper, she states that “it might be deduced that the typesetters or proof readers did not correct adverts but adopted the original item” (Auer 2009: 154).

More importantly, however, the findings presented here and Auer’s observations suggest that newspapers contain various text genres that may differ in their use of language. Advertisements can be described as a text type closer to ‘language of proximity’ (Koch & Oesterreicher 1994) than the articles on local and global news since they address the reader more directly. Similar to other texts closer to ‘conceptual orality’, they contain fewer prestigious features associated with writing (in this case, fewer instances of dative *-e*). Newspapers can, therefore, not be considered homogeneous texts but instead have to be understood as a compilation of different texts. In future research projects, this distinction should be made clearer by explicitly referring to ‘newspaper articles’ for the reports on local and international news rather than ‘newspapers’. At the same time, other parts of newspapers, such as advertisements, should be analysed in more detail as the language use in them may vary considerably from newspaper articles.

## 5 Conclusion

Based on the findings described above, the answer to the question whether newspaper correspondents selected or merely adopted certain variants has to be twofold:

- 1) The quantitative analysis of *e*-apocope in plural forms showed that the newspaper articles in the *Wienerisches Diarium* were fairly uniform prior to the publication of 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammars. By 1729, plural forms were generally marked with final *-e* in the *Wienerisches Diarium*. With regard to this feature, the writers of these articles played a role in the selection and dissemination of the form that was then codified by 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians.
- 2) The analysis of the dative *-e*, on the other hand, revealed a relatively gradual diminishment of the Upper German variant during the period under investigation, particularly after 1764. While grammarians did not introduce the dative *-e* to newspaper articles, their prescriptions seem to have led to an expansion of its use. In this case, most newspaper correspondents adopted the form that was codified in grammars.

To some extent, the use of the dative *-e* varied between individual writers, challenging the view of newspapers as homogeneous texts. These preferences in individual news articles as well as the striking differences between news articles and advertisements indicate that newspapers have to be seen as compilations of texts, with certain texts adhering more strictly to norms prescribed by grammarians. It, therefore, seems that the *Wienerisches Diarium*/*Wiener Zeitung* was not edited according to the language norms of 18<sup>th</sup>-century grammarians: the plural *-e* was used very consistently before their publication while the variation in the use of dative *-e* can still be observed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The former feature is part of standard German varieties today, while the latter is generally not. This suggests that 18<sup>th</sup>-century newspaper articles, among other texts written by the educated classes, played an important role in the selection and dissemination of certain language norms.

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